2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

more than for the other male relatives and he, at need, would hunt or till the land for her. But the relationship was one of help without intimacy.

The close tie with siblings of one's own sex and respectful help to the opposite sex, continued into adult life. The brothers, during their father's lifetime, worked together under him, often living in the same house and bringing their wives home to share it. On the father's death, they built themselves separate houses but often they continued to share the land and its proceeds, their wives cooking together in a common kitchen. (I. 2. A; I. V. A and C).

Even if the brothers divided their land, they acted in many way as an economic unit. Ceremonial payments falling upon one member were made by the whole group or by that member who could best afford it. Vengeance for murder — a rare occurence — fell on any member of the group who was available. Dependant relatives were billetted in any of the houses as convenient and the yqung people of the group worked for any member as ordered. The junior levirate was strongly in force and an older brother, dying, would be replaced in his household by one of the younger ones.

The companionship of sisters somethimes lasted equally long. After sleeping on the same mat through childhood two of them, or even three or four, might be married to the same man and continue to share their tasks till death. Even though they were not co-wives during life, the younger might marry her sister's widower and care for her sister's children.

But when the sororate was not convenient, the connection of sisters with all their siblings temporarily lapsed. A woman was always expected to marry into another village so as to avoid her blood kin, and in her husband's household she became part of a new female group, composed of sisters-in-law married to the sons of the family. Often she was too far off for her siblings even to send her gifts, for only one gift exchange between such a brother and sister is mentioned (I. 3. B). If her brothers went through ceremonial purification, she might not know of it and would be absolved from bathing and fasting. She would go through these rites with her new family; her husband and his resident brothers.

But this separation, dependent on geographic limitations, was often only temporary. If the sister's marriage was broken up by death or divorce, she immediately returned home. (I. 3. B). If she were too old to remarry, her brothers would provide for her as suited their arrangements: either in a house with one of them, in a separate house, with a field of her own or with produce from the common field. If she was still young, it was their duty to find her

In an earlier day, reservation residence required an adjustment to a desert environment. This being the case, towns were always near a source of water and near acceptable pasture and flood water farm land. At the present time, with wage work becoming increasingly important, in fact essential to the great majority of Indians during some period of the year, residence near a source of wage work is also important. 178 361 433 [464]

Another change in Papago life has also been noted. As recently as thirty or forty years ago community needs were simple and most Papago villages were self-sufficient. Today this is true only for Sells. Other villages look elsewhere for one or another of the essential community services: shopping, education, health services, religion, government, and the like. These needs are met in a slightly different fashion in each of the nine districts. 178 621 628

Baboquivari District. Although the districts -- as political subdivisions of the main reservation -- were established in 1937, long after the founding of most villages, certain internal district relationships have been built through time which are now important. In Baboquivari district Topawa serves as the voting place in tribal and district elections. It is also the center for the education of Catholic youngsters, and is the ceremonial center for Catholic activities throughout the reservation. Native ceremonial activities and traditional folk medicine centers 634 621 628 368 [666] [797] [796]

Native
634 Ceremonial activities and traditional folk medicine centers
621 around Supai Oidak (Cold Fields), probably the most internall
628 cohesive village in the district. The outside orientation of
368 villagers in this district is towards Sells. The southern-
[178] most village in the district, Choulic, contains three or four families who are oriented toward activities in San Miguel of Chukut Kuk district.

Chukut Kuk District. This district shares its southern border with Mexico and traditionally the orientatior of its villagers has been in that direction. Today, however, they join with villagers in Baboquivari District in sending their children either to Sells to the public school, or to Topawa to the Catholic Mission School. Villagers vote in
[166] Vamori and shop in Sells or Tucson. Many of the villagers in San Miguel, Vamori and the settlement of Tecolote have temporary homes in these villages and thus spend most of their time living in Sells where they work for wages. Oftentimes the "temporary" residence in Sells is in fact the "permanent" one.

Gu Achi District. Santa Rosa is the dominant town and provides medical and commerical services to residents throughout the area. It is also the seat of political activity of the district.

Gu Vo District. People in this district send their
[366] children to Gu Vo school. They commonly do their shopping in one of three places, either in Pisinimo, at the "Y" Store near Ajo, or in Ajo proper. Almost twenty per cent of the

Almost Twenty Per cent of the
wage work carried on by men of Gu Vo is in the mines of Ajo. Medical services are sought in Sells or Ajo. Folk medicine is sought in the village of Ali Chuk (Manager's Dam). This village also has a reputation throughout the district as being a ceremonial center. Ali Chuk, with its irrigation, is quite autonomous and is oriented toward Mexico. Priests, residing in Pisinimo, make regular visits to both Gu Vo and Ali Chuk villages. 634 621 628 368 [464] [316]

Hickiwan District. The villagers of Kaka, Ventana and Vaya Chin commonly associate. (They have the only cattle association in the district). Vaya Chin contains a BIA school wher children from throughout the district attend. People at "this end" use the telephones in either Ventana (at Joe Thomas' house) or at the BIA school. They frequently shop, however, at the general store in Santa Rosa. Medical needs are cared for also at Santa Rosa clinic or by the medicine man in Vaya Chin. [365] [366]

The villagers of Hotason Vo (Charco #27), and Schuchuli (Gunsight) participate in political and ceremonial activities with Hickiwan. They commonly go to Covered Wells or to the "Y" near Ajo to shop.

Pisinimo District. Villagers of this district have a great many of the educational, political and commercial needs taken care of by the village of Pisinimo itself. The trader at San Simon (Wahak Hotonok) provides a "pick-up" store for district residents who work in Sells. Pisinimo has [366]

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a store, a school, and a resident priest. In addition it is the voting place for the district.

Schuk Toak District. Here there is no dominant village. People living in Sil Nakya (Saddle Hanging) send their children to Santa Rosa Ranch (Schuchk) or to Sells to school. They have their fields, however, outside the distric at Gu Achi. They also have close relatives living at Comobal during the colder seasons. Comobabi is vacant part of the year. One family in Sil Nakya gets a regular income from wag work done at Kitt Peak. People here commonly go to Sells for medical services, but two medicine men take care of those who want more traditional services. Havana Nakya (Crow Hanging) and Santa Rosa Ranch (Schuchk) are closely associated. Perhaps the foremost medicine man on the reservation lives in Havana Nakya. People in this district shop in Sells; their political center as well as their educational center is Santa Rosa Ranch (Schuchk) -- a non-village location. San Pedro (Viopuli) and Pan Tak (Coyote Sits) have trophies from the same medicine basket. People in the two villages are closely related and they cooperate during fiestas. Chiawuli Tak (Fresnal Village), however, is quite by itself. It seems to be a "bedroom community" for people who work at Sells, yet one section of Fresnal Village is very traditional in respect to subsistence farming, beliefs, and house type.

In summary, Schuk Toak district is represented by relatively autonomous settlements. Those near the Tucson-Sells highway (San Pedro,

Pan Tak, Havana Nakya and Chiawuli Tak and Schuchk) go elsewhere for wage work, mostly to Kitt Peak and Sells. Those villages away from the highway in the mountains (Sil Nakya, Comobabi) maintain the old pattern of cattle raising and subsistence farming and are oriented toward Santa Rosa. 634 621 628 368

Sells District. This district has not been studied carefully, but it would not be inaccurate to say that Sells dominates every other location in providing major services, except that of native ceremonialism at Gu Oidak (Big Fields). Catholic children go to Topawa to school; Protestants go to the Public School in Sells.

Sif Oidak District. This district seems to be losing many of its residents. A recent visit to Kohatk (August, 1963) revealed many houses in disrepair and abandoned. Only six families were still living there. Chuichu also, with the closing of the school several years ago, has lost some of its importance and population. Anegam is the political seat of the district and perhaps the most "traditional". [166]

Non-Village Settlements. Under another definition, perhaps eight additional settlements on the Papago Reservation would be classified as villages. They are listed and described below. 621 361

Choulic (Baboquivari District). This village has no public building at all. It is spread over an area of some two-and-a-half miles, thus people nearest San Miguel orient